THURSDAY, MAY 4, 1775. THE NUMBER 48.

VIRGINIA GAZETTE,
OR THE
NORFOLK INTELLIGENCER.

UNI AEQUUS VIRTUTI ATQUE EJUS AMICIS.—— HOR.

LONDON, FEBRUARY 11.

General outlines of Lord CHATHAM's Bill.

IN the common form, it is hereby enacted, &c. "That the declaratory law of 1766, which ordains that the British Parliament has a right to make laws sufficient to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever, the several acts objected to in the petition of rights, from the delegates in congress convened at Philadelphia last September, shall be suspended, till the event of the following proposition shall be known." It then proceeds to enact, that it shall be lawful for a congress to meet at Philadelphia on the 9th of May next, to deliberate on and agree to the two following main points; that the said delegates thus assembled, shall in the first place recognize the supremacy and grand controlling superintending power of the British legislature in every point whatsoever, relating to commercial regulation, except as thereafter provided for. And secondly, that they (the delegates) shall submit to contribute towards the support of the public burdens, a certain specific sum to be granted to his Majesty, to be under, directed, and appropriated by parliament. When those conditions are complied with and are assented to by a solemn recognition on the part of America, then the said laws mentioned in the said claim or petition of rights are to be actually and bona fide repealed: and the respective provincial assemblies are to proceed in their usual manner to make the necessary provisions for support of their civil governments, according to the mode heretofore uniformly practised. It then enters into the discussion of the purport of the resolves of the delegates in congress, respecting the quartering and stationing a standing army in times of peace in the colonies; and asserts, in the fullest, clearest, and most determinate manner, that the ordering, quartering, and stationing the military force of the kingdom, is one of the greatest constitutional, inherent, and unalienable prerogatives of the crown, on no pretence or colour whatever to be denied or controverted, and accurately draws the line intended by the bill of rights, presented at the revolution, as distinguishing between an army kept up in time of peace, without the consent, and one actually raised, embodied and paid, by and with the consent of parliament. The last material clause in this celebrated bill is relative to the payment of the judges, and the tenure on which they are to hold their places. It ordains that they shall not hold their places at the pleasure of, nor be paid by the crown; but that both shall be formed exactly on the model, already happily established in this country, that is, they shall hold their seats quamdiu se bene gesserint, and they shall be paid their salaries by the respective provinces where they reside; but to be, however, appointed by the crown. He laboured and explained those two last great constitutional points, with a force of oratory, a strength of reasoning, a magnitude of conception, a brilliancy of expression, and a fund of information and political knowledge; that would have done infinite honour to the greatest, the wisest orators, statesmen, or patriots, that Rome or Athens ever saw.

The noble Lords who voted in support of Lord Chatham's plan of reconciliation with America were the following:

The Dukes of	Scarborough,	Ferrers,
Cumberland,	Cholmondeley,	Craven,
Richmond,	Strafford,	Romney,
Devonshire,	Tankerville,	King,
Portland,	Stanhope,	Forteſcue,
Manchester,	Effingham,	Ponsonby,
Northumber-	Fitzwilliams,	Lyttleton,
land.	Temple,	Wycombe,
Marquis of	Radnor,	Sondes,
Rockingham.	Spencer,	Milton,
The Earls of	Chatham.	Camden.
Stamford,	The Lords	
Abingdon,	Abergavenny,	32.

The speakers for the bill were Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Manchester, and Earl Temple. —— Against it, the Earl of Sandwich, the Duke of Grafton, Lord Gower, the Lord Chancellor, Earl of Hilsborough, and Lord Dartmouth.

If the — viz. the 4 bishops, the 16 Scots peers, and the 20 officers of state are deducted, the number who voted against Lord Chatham's plan of reconciliation will be only eight.

Feb. 16. At a court of Common-Council held on Friday last, that court came to the following resolution:

"That the thanks of this court be given to the Earl of Chatham, for having offered to the H. of Lords a plan for conciliating the differences which unfortunately subsist between the administration in this country and its American colonies; and to all those who supported that noble Lord in so humane and constitutional a measure."

At a Court of Common council held yesterday, the town clerk acquainted the Court that he had waited on the Right Hon. the Earl of Chatham, with the thanks of the Court agreed to on Friday last, to which his Lordship returned the following answer;

"Lord Chatham desires the favour of Mr. Town Clerk to offer to my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and Commons, in Common Council assembled, his most respectful and grateful acknowledgements for the signal honour they have been pleased to confer on the mere discharge of his duty in a moment of impending calamity.

"Under deep impression of former marks of favourable construction during the evil hour of a dangerous foreign war, he now deems himself too fortunate to find his efforts for preventing the ruin and horrors of a civil war, approved, honoured and strengthened, by the great corporate bond of the Kingdom."

At a Court of Common council held on Monday last, the folowing resolutions were agreed to:

Resolved, that the present situation of our public affairs, in consequence of the severe proceedings against the American colonies, is so exceedingly alarming, that it is the duty of this Court to use every possible endeavour to prevent all further oppression, and to obtain relief to so numerous and valuable a part of our fellow subjects.

Resolved, that as a bill is proposed to be brought into Parliament, to prohibit the New-England fishery, which, if complied with, may materially injure the commercial interests of this city, and of the kingdom in general, the Lord Mayor may be requested by this Court to convene the same to consider whether it may not be the duty of this Court to petition parliament against the said proposed bill, the principles of which, so far as they have hitherto declared, appearing to be repugnant to justice and the true interest of the British empire.

At a court of common council held yesterday at Guildhall, (after the matters to be objected to in the Massachusetts-Bay bill were referred to a committee, who are to make their report to-morrow at another court of common council to be then holden) the following resolutions were come to:

Resolved, that the measures of administration, respecting our fellow subjects in America, adopted by the late parliament, appear to this court in the highest degree dangerous and alarming, and demand our most serious attention.

Resolved, that as the opinion of this court hath already been very fully and particularly declared against an act of the late Parliament, intituled, "An act for making more effectual provision for the government of Quebec, in North-America;" we think it equally our duty to bear testimony also against four other acts of the said parliament, which we esteem highly injurious to our fellow subjects in America, viz. "An act for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts-Bay;" also, "An act for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any act done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of the Massachusetts-Bay;" and also, "An act to discontinue the landing and discharging, &c. of goods, wares, and merchandizes at the town, and within the harbour of Boston;" and also an act, intituled, "An act for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North-America;" they appearing to this court to be not only contrary to many of the fundamental principles of the English constitution and most essential rights of the subject, but also apparently inconsistent with natural justice and equity; and we are therefore of opinion, that our fellow-subjects the Americans are justified in every constitutional opposition to the said acts.

HOUSE OF LORDS, Die Martis, 7 Feb. 1775.

THE Lord President reported, that the managers for the Lords had met the managers for the Commons at a conference, which on the part of the Commons was managed by Lord North, who acquainted the managers for the Lords, that they had taken into consideration the state of his Majesty's colonies in North-America, and had agreed upon an address to be presented to his Majesty, to which they desired the concurrence of this House.

Then his Lordship read the address delivered at the conference——and the same being again read by the clerk, the Earl of Dartmouth and the Marquis of Rockingham both rising to speak, a debate arose wo should speak first.

The question was put, whether the Earl of Dartmouth should now be heard?

It was resolved in the affirmative.

Moved to agree with the Commons in the said address, by filing up the blank with (the Lords Spiritual and Temporal:)

Which being objected to, and a question stated thereupon? after a long debate, the previous question was put, whether the main question shall now be put?

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It was resolved in the affirmative.

Dissentient.

1st. The previous question was moved, not to prevent the proceeding in the address, communicated at the conference with the Commons, but in order to present the petitions of the North-American merchants and of the West-India merchants and planters, which petitions the house might reject if frivolous, or postpone if not urgent, as it might seem fit to their wisdom; but to hurry on the business to which these petitions so materially and directly related, the express prayer of which was, that they might be heard before "any resolution may be taken by this Right Honourable House respecting America," to refuse so much as to suffer them to be presented, is a proceeding of the most unwarrantable nature, and directly subversive of the most sacred rights of the subject. It is the more particularly exceptionable, as a lord in his place, at the express desire of the West-India merchants, informed the house, that if necessitated so to do, they were ready without council or farther preparation, instantly to offer evidence to prove, that several islands of the West-Indies could not be able to subsist after the operation of the proposed address in America. Justice in regard to individuals, policy with regard to the public, and decorum with regard to ourselves, required that we should admit this petition to be presented. By refusing it, justice is denied.

2dly. Becauſe the papers laid upon our table by the miniſters, are ſo manifeſtly defective and ſo avowedly curtailed, that we can derive from them nothing like information of the true ſtate of the object on which we are going to act, or of the conſequences of the reſolutions which we may take. We ought (as we conceive) with gladneſs to have accepted that information from the merchants, which, if it had not been voluntarily offered, it was our duty to ſeek: there is no information concerning the ſtate of our colonies (taken in any point of view) which the merchants are not far more competent to give, than Governors or Officers, who often know far leſs of the temper and diſpoſition, or may be more diſpoſed to miſrepreſent it than the merchants. Of this we have a full and melancholy experience in the miſtaken ideas on which the fatal effects of the late parliament were formed.

3dly. Becauſe we are of opinion, that in entering into a war, in which miſchief and inconvenience are great and certain (but the utmoſt extent of which it is impoſſible to foreſee) true policy requires that thoſe who are moſt likely to be immediately affected, ſhould be thoroughly ſatisfied of the deliberation with which it was taken: and we apprehend that the planters, merchants, and manufacturers, will not bear their loſſes and burthens, brought on them by the propoſed civil war, the better for our refuſing ſo much as to hear them previous to engaging in that war; nor will our precipitation in reſolving, add much to the ſucceſs in executing any plan that may be purſued.

We proteſt therefore againſt the refuſal to ſuffer ſuch petitions to be preſented, and we thus clear ourſelves to our country of the diſgrace and miſchief which muſt attend this unconſtitutional, indecent and improvident proceeding.

RICHMOND,	PORTLAND,
PONSONBY,	CAMDEN,
ARCHER,	FITZWILLIAM,
ROCKINGHAM,	SCARBOROUGH,
WYCOMBE,	ABERGAVENNY,
EFFINGHAM,	ABINGDON,
TORRINGTON,	CRAVEN,
STANHOPE,	COURTENAY,
CHOLMONDELEY,	TANKERVILLE.

Then the main queſtion was put, whether to agree with the Commons in the ſaid addreſs by inſerting the words, (Lords Spiritual and Temporal) and

It was reſolved in the affirmative,

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Diſſentient,

1ſt. Becauſe the violent matter of this dangerous addreſs was highly aggravated by the violent manner in which it was precipitately hurried through the Houſe. Lords were not allowed the interpoſition of a moment's time for deliberation, before they were driven headlong into a declaration of a civil war. A conferrence was held with the Commons, an addreſs of this importance preſented, all extraneous information, although offered, poſitively refuſed; all petitions arbitrarily rejected, and the whole of this moſt awful buſineſs received, debated, and concluded, in a ſingle day.

2dly. Becauſe no legal grounds were laid, in argument or in fact, to ſhew that a rebellion, properly ſo called, did exiſt in Maſſachuſett's-Bay, when the papers of the lateſt date, and from whence alone we derive our information, were written. The overt-acts to which the ſpecies of treaſon affirmed in the addreſs ought to be applied, were not eſtabliſhed, nor any offenders marked out; but a general maſs of the acts of turbulence, ſaid to be done at various times and places, and of various natures, were all thrown together, to make out one general conſtructive treaſon: Neither was there any ſort of proof of the continuance of any unlawful force, from whence we could infer that a rebellion does now exiſt. And we are the more cautious of pronouncing any part of his Majeſty's dominions to be in actual rebellion, becauſe the caſes of conſtructive treaſon under that branch of the 25th of Edward the Third, which deſcribes the crime of rebellion, have been already ſo far extended by the judges, and the diſtinctions ſo nice and ſubtle, that no prudent man ought to declare any ſingle perſon in that ſituation, without the cleareſt evidence of uncontrovertible overt-acts to warrant ſuch a declaration: Much leſs ought ſo high an authority as both Houſes of Parliament, to denounce ſo ſevere a judgment againſt a conſiderable part of his Majeſty's ſubjects, by which his forces may think themſelves juſtified in commencing a war, without any further order or commiſſion.

3dly. Becauſe we think that ſeveral acts of the late Parliament, and ſeveral late proceedings of adminiſtration with regard to the Colonies, are real grievances and juſt cauſes of complaint, and we cannot in honour or in conſcience, conſent to an addreſs which commends the temper by which proceedings, ſo very intemperate, have been carried on; nor can we perſuade ourſelves to authorize violent courſes againſt perſons in the Colonies who have reſiſted authority, without at the ſame time redreſſing the grievances which have given but too much provocation for their behaviour.

4thly. Becauſe we think the looſe and general aſſurances given by the addreſs, of future redreſs of grievances, in caſe of ſubmiſſion, is far from ſatisfactory or at all likely to produce their end, whilſt the acts complained of continue unrepealed, or unamended, and their authors remain in authority here; becauſe theſe adviſers of all the meaſures which have brought on the calamities of this empire, will not be truſted whilſt they defend as juſt, neceſſary, and even indulgent, all the acts complained of as grievances, by the Americans; and muſt therefore, on their own principles, be bound in future to govern the colonies in the manner, which has already produced ſuch fatal effects; and we fear that the refuſal of this Houſe, ſo much as to receive previous to determination (which is the moſt offenſive mode of rejection) petitions from the unoffending natives of Great-Britain and the Weſt-India iſlands, affords but a very diſcouraging proſpect of our obtaining hereafter any petitions at all, from thoſe whom we have declared actors in rebellion, or abettors of that crime.

Laſtly. Becauſe the means of enforcing the authority of the Britiſh legiſlature, is conſigned to perſons of whoſe capacity for that purpoſe, from abundant experience we have reaſon to doubt, and who have hitherto uſed no effectual means of conciliating or of reducing thoſe who oppoſe that authority: This appears in the conſtant failure of all their projects, the inſufficiency of all their information, and the diſappointment of all the hopes, which they have for ſeveral years held out to the public. Parliament has never refuſed any of their propoſals, and yet our affairs have proceeded daily from bad to worſe, until we have been brought, ſtep by ſtep, to that ſtate of confuſion, and even civil violence, which was the natural reſult of theſe deſperate meaſures.

We therefore proteſt againſt an addreſs amounting to a declaraion of war, which is founded on no proper parliamentary information; which was introduced by refuſing to ſuffer the preſentation of petitions againſt it (although it be the undoubted right of the ſubject to preſent the ſame); which followed the rejection of every mode of conciliation; which holds out no ſubſtantial offer of redreſs of grievances; and which promiſes ſupport to thoſe miniſters who have inflamed America, and miſconducted the affairs of Great-Britain.

RICHMOND,	CHOLMONDELEY,
CRAVEN,	ABINGDON,
ARCHER,	PORTLAND,
ABERGAVENNY,	CAMDEN,
ROCKINGHAM,	EFFINGHAM,
WYCOMBE,	STANHOPE,
COURTENAY,	SCARBOROUGH,
TORRINGTON,	FITZWILLIAM,
PONSONBY,	TANKERVILLE.

A circumſtantial account of the important debates in the American committee on Lord North's motion of Monday, Feb. 20.

ON Sunday evening, a Treaſury letter, deſiring an attendance in the Houſe for the next day, was ſent to the moſt active perſons in oppoſition, as well as to all thoſe who ſupport Miniſtry, as Lord North had a motion of importance to make. It is unuſual to ſend ſuch letters to the members who oppoſe. This meſſage therefore occaſioned much ſpeculation. Early on Monday, it was univerſally given out that Lord North intended to move a conciliatory propoſition, which would have a tendency to quiet the troubles that unhappily diſtract the Britiſh empire.

About 4 o'clock, Sir Charles Whitworth took the chair in the American committee. Lord North immediately roſe, and having laid open his deſign, in a ſpeech of rather leſs than a hour, concluded with the following motion:

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that when "the Governor, Council, and Aſſembly, or General "Court of any of his Majeſty's provinces or colonies in "America, ſhall propoſe to make proviſion, according "to the conditions, circumſtances, and ſituation of ſuch "province or colony, for contributing their proportion "to the common defence (ſuch proportion to be raiſed "under the authority of the General Court or General "Aſſembly of ſuch province or colony, and diſpoſable "by Parliament) and ſhall engage to make proviſion alſo "for the ſupport of civil government, and the adminiſ-"tration of juſtice in ſuch province or colony, it will be "proper, if ſuch propoſal ſhall be approved by his Ma-"jeſty and the two Houſes of Parliament, and for ſo "long as ſuch proviſion ſhall be made accordingly, to "forbear, in reſpect of ſuch province or colony, to levy "any duty, tax, or aſſeſſment, except only ſuch duties "as it may be expedient to impoſe for the regulation of "commerce; the neat produce of the duties laſt mention-"ed to be carried to the account of ſuch province, or co-"lony reſpectively."

The motion was ſupported by Governor Pownal, Mr. Jenkinſon, Sir G. Elliot, Mr. Cornwall and Mr. Wedderburne.

The principal arguments uſed by theſe Gentlemen, and particularly by Lord North, in favour of the propoſition, were the following: "That, in the late addreſs of the two Houſes, a promiſe was given to redreſs the grievances of the Americans. It was indeed impoſſible to define what Parliament ought to deem a real grievance, among the many factious complaints of the Americans; but as there was one point upon which they and others were moſt particularly clamorous, the matter of taxation, it would be proper to come to a fair and indulgent explanation on that ſubject; and as many new reſtrictions on the trade of the Americans had been already propoſed, and as many more were intended, in that ſituation, the coloniſts ought fairly to know what they are to expect and what is expected by them.

Juſtice and policy (he ſaid) required, that every perſon, under any government, ſhould be compelled to become contributory to that government according to his ability, and to the ſupport he derives from it. This principle ought to extend to the colonies, and to all other dependencies of this empire, juſt as much as to any part of Great-Britain; and the ſlighteſt relaxation of any penal or reſtrictive ſtatute now made, or hereafter to be made in conſequence of their diſobedience and contumacy, ought not to be ſo much as liſtened to, until they come to Parliament and offer ſuch contributions as that ſovereign judge and legiſlature ſhould decide to be their juſt and fair proportion towards the common defence of the whole empire, and that this offer muſt be underſtood as the condition upon which we are to accept their allegiance.

This propoſition ought not to be ſettled by a Congreſs. Such a mode could only tend to promote factious combinations in the colonies who, as colonies, have no ſort of relation among themſelves. They are all the colonies of Great-Britain, and it is through her alone that they have any relation to each other.

At preſent, the quota which each colony ought to pay cannot be ſettled; but the proportions (when the Americans come to make their offers) muſt be adjuſted upon the following ſtandard: The wealth and population of each colony, its advantages relatively to the other colonies, and its proportion to the wealth and other advantages, taken together with the burthens and neceſſities, of Great-Britain.

There had been much talk of the reſtrictions on the trade of the colonies, but when the goods which they take from this country only, becauſe they are the beſt and the cheapeſt, ſhall be deducted from the account of reſtriction, the Americans will have but little ground for exemption on that account, and they will be found ſo much on a par with the inhabitants of Great-Britain in commercial advantages, that reaſon and juſtice require they ſhould be put on a par with regard to their contributions, and to pay (after the above deduction) full as much in taxes as the people of Great-Britain. Seventy millions of debt, in the laſt war, was incurred ſolely on their account; and, in equity, the Americans ought to bear at leaſt their fair proportion of it. The army and navy of England are employed for their protection, in common with the reſt of the empire; they ought, therefore, to contribute both to the army and the navy. And when a fleet is ſent to the Eaſt-Indies, the colonies ought to pay their ſhare of the charges, juſt as well as when it is ſtationed on the coaſt of North-America; for this force being for the common benefits, the colonies are virtually included in the protection derived from it, wherever it is employed.

As to the mode of taxation, provided the ſubſtantial ſupply is obtained, it is our intereſt to indulge the colonies in this particular as much as we can; partly becauſe we may not be as knowing in the detail as the American Aſſemblies, and we may oppreſs when we meant only to tax, and partly becauſe it has been found almoſt impoſſible for Parliament to lay taxes there, which would produce any thing in any degree adequate to their purpoſes.

Lord North confeſſed that he rather imagined this propoſition would not be to the taſte of the Americans, and would not be complied with by ſeveral of the colonies. However, if but ONE of them ſubmitted, that ONE link of the chain would be broken; and if ſo, the whole would inevitably fall to pieces. This ſeparation would reſtore our empire, and 'divide et impera' was a maxim never held unfair or unwiſe in government. If this hope ſhould be fruſtrated, and that the propoſition ſhould do no good in America, it will not however fail doing good in England: Firſt, it will ſtand as an eternal monument of the wiſdom and clemency, of the humanity and juſtice of Britiſh government; ſecondly, it will ſhow to the traders and manufacturers of England the temper and moderation of Parliament, and the obſtinacy and diſaffection of the Americans, and will of courſe ſupport them under the decay and loſs of trade, and all the miſeries of war; they will bear with patience all theſe temporary loſſes, when they are aſſured that they are incurred for the ſake of a large revenue, which is to eaſe them from the many and heavy taxes which at preſent oppreſs their induſtry; thirdly, it will animate the officers and ſoldiers we ſend out to America to a vigorous and manly exertion of their native courage, without doubt or ſcruple, when they are aſſured they no longer fight for a phantom, and a vain empty point of honour, but for a ſubſtantial benefit to their country, which is to relieve her in her greateſt exigencies.

That this is putting the quarrel, at laſt, upon a proper ground; a diſpute for revenue, a diſpute to compel America to come to the relief of Great-Britain. That it was no conceding propoſition, but what true policy muſt ſuggeſt, if they had actually ſubdued America, and had her proſtrate at their feet. That it is not to abandon the authority of Parliament, but to confirm it; it is to enforce it in the moſt effectual manner, and for the moſt eſſential objects, becauſe the TAXING power is by THIS reſolution in the hands of Parliament, and to be exerciſed merely according to its diſcretion. All the vigorous mea-

ſures, either by penal laws, or by the military force, are to go on exactly as before; no farther relaxation whatſoever is intended. This is the ultimatum.

If it ſhould ſeem to be abandoning the high ground taken in the addreſs, or to be contrary to the aſſurances ſo frequently given, "that no terms ſhould be held out to America previous to its ſubmiſſion," this is nothing (ſaid Lord North) but what is common. The greateſt powers have done it. In the war of the ſucceſſion, it was a fundamental point that no Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon ſhould ever ſit on the throne of Spain. This was ſeveral times repeated, and in the moſt ſolemn manner. Such politics are neceſſary to gain or to animate allies, yet all the powers which compoſed this confederacy yielded; and a Prince of the Houſe Bourbon did ſit, and one of the ſame Houſe does now ſit, on the throne of Spain. In the Spaniſh war of 1739, we declared that we ſhould never treat with Spain until ſhe had given up the point of ſearch; yet peace was made without her giving up this point, and the ſearch continues. Lord North added to theſe ſeveral other inſtances in which great powers had abandoned their pretenſions, and diſappointed the hopes they had held out to their allies.

Such is the ſubſtance of the plan, and of arguments uſed in ſupport of it. The Houſe, at firſt, ſeemed ſtrangely agitated and divided. Almoſt all of thoſe who uſually ſupport Miniſtry manifeſted ſo great a diſlike of the meaſure, that many apprehended Lord North, on the diviſion, would be found in a minority. On the other hand, ſeveral in oppoſition ſeemed unwilling to vote againſt any thing which carried with it even the name of conciliation with the colonies. However, as the debate proceeded, the true nature and purpoſe of the propoſition was more fully developed. The oppoſition to it went different ways and on totally different grounds. On one ſide, it was oppoſed by Mr. Welbore Ellis, Vice Treaſurer of Ireland; by the Solicitor General of Scotland; by Mr. Adams, Mr. Ackland, and ſome others of the miniſterial members.

Mr. Ellis declared, that poſſibly he might differ from every other Gentleman, and ſtand quite ſingle; but it was his opinion the Houſe would be ſunk, by the acceptance of the noble Lord's motion, into the loweſt ſtate of degradation. A very few days ago, no leſs than three hundred of them had carried up to the Lords an addreſs, declaring all the colonies in a ſtate of diſobedience, and one of them in actual rebellion; an addreſs offering their lives and fortunes for the ſuppreſſion of that rebellion, an addreſs making the previous ſubmiſſion of the Americans, in their humble petition to parliament, and their acknowledgment of its authority, conditions indiſpenſable to all redreſs of grievances, real or imaginary. In a few days after, without any reaſon aſſigned, without any known variation of circumſtances, without any petition, ſubmiſſion, or acknowledgement, whatſoever, for the houſe to come to a reſolution directly contradictory to the former, was the moſt humiliating ſtroke to the dignity of parliament, which, in his long experience, he had ever remembered. Nothing could ſo highly reflect upon its courage, honour, wiſdom, and conſiſtency: but as the ſubject was full of irritation, and as he was afraid, though a very old member, that he might be betrayed into ſome improper expreſſions, he choſe to ſit down without farther diſcuſſion of a matter which indeed ſpoke ſo fully for itſelf.

The ſame line of argument was taken by the other Gentlemen on the court ſide, who oppoſed the motion upon the principle of its inconſiſtency with all the former declarations of adminiſtration, and with the late addreſs of both houſes of parliament.

The Gentlemen of the minority, who had oppoſed all meaſures of ſeverity towards America, declared with a marked ſolemnity, that they came to the Houſe, on the report of the change of meaſures, with a full reſolution of ſupporting any thing which might lead in any way towards conciliation; but that they found the propoſition altogether inſidious in its nature, and therefore purpoſely rendered, to the laſt degree, obſcure and perplexed in its language. Inſtead of being at all fitted to produce peace, it was calculated to increaſe the diſorders and confuſion in America, and therefore that they never could conſent to it.

On this ſide, the debate was ſupported with remarkable force and ſpirit, by Mr. T. Townſend, Mr. Fox, Col. Barre, Mr. Burke, Mr. Dunning, and Lord John Cavendiſh.

They readily admitted, with Mr. Ellis, and with the Solicitor General of Scotland, that the propoſition was a contradiction to every thing that parliament had declared; a ſhameful prevarication in miniſters, and a mean departure from every declaration they had made. They were willing, however, to purchaſe peace by any humiliation of Miniſters, and, by what was of ſo far more moment, even by the humiliation of Parliament; but the meaſure was mean indeed, but not at all conciliatory. One benefit, however, was derived from it; for (ſaid Mr. Fox) it has re-eſtabliſhed the credit, and ſignalized the power, of the true conſtitutional Whiggiſh principle of reſiſtance. This had already reduced the proudeſt tyranny, had made it renounce its high declarations and ſtoop to meanneſs and fraud, the ſure forerunner of rout and diſmay. That as Lord North had already been ſtaggered into this unheard of act of irreſolution and inconſtancy, there might be ſome hope of his proceeding to others which might be really lenient, if it were not the nature of inconſiſtency not to proceed in any certain track; and that the ſame want of a fixed principle, which led him to renounce his firſt plan, might induce him, perhaps as ſuddenly, to return to it. That the mode of argument, on the ſide of miniſtry, was the moſt ridiculous that ever had been known in parliament. They attempted to prove to one ſide of the houſe, that the meaſure was a conceſſion; and to the other, that it was a ſtrong aſſertion of authority; juſt on the ſilly principles of the tea act, which to Great-Britain was to be a duty of ſupply, to the Americans a tax of regulation.

They were likewiſe (they ſaid) aſtoniſhed at another extraordinary phenomenon. To this day, during the whole courſe of the American debates, the miniſtry have daily and hourly denied their having any ſort of conteſt about an American revenue. That the whole was a diſpute for obedience to trade laws, and to the general legiſlative authority. Now they turn ſhort; and to conſole our manufacturers, and animate our ſoldiers, they tell them, for the firſt time, "the diſpute is put on its true footing, and that the grand conteſt is, not for empty honour, but ſubſtantial revenue." But manufacturers ſoldiers will not be ſo conſoled, or ſo animated, becauſe the revenue is as much an empty phantom as the honour; and the whole ſcheme of the reſolution is oppreſſive, abſurd, and impracticable, and, what indeed the miniſters confeſs, the Americans will not accept. It is oppreſſive, becauſe it was never the complaint of the Americans that the mode of taxation was not left to themſelves, but that neither the amount and quantum of the grant, nor the application, was in their free choice. This was their complaint, and their complaint was juſt. What elſe is it to be taxed by act of parliament, in which they are not repreſented, but for parliament to ſettle the proportion of the payment, and the application of the money? This is the purport of the preſent reſolution. If an act of parliament compelled the city of Amſterdam to raiſe an hundred thouſand pounds, is not Amſterdam as effectually taxed without its conſent as if duties to that amount were laid on that city? To leave them the mode may be of ſome eaſe, as to the collection; but it is nothing to the freedom of granting, in which the colonies are ſo far from being relieved by this reſolution, that their condition is to be ten times worſe than ever.

For the minority contended, that it is a far more oppreſſive mode of taxing than that hitherto uſed; for here no determinate demand is made. The colonies are to be held in durance by troops, fleets, and armies, until ſingly and ſeparately they ſhall do——what? Until they ſhall offer to contribute to a ſervice which they cannot know, in a proportion which they cannot gueſs, on a ſtandard which they are ſo far from being able to aſcertain, that parliament, which is to hold it, has not ventured to hint what it is they expect. They are to be held priſoners of war, unleſs they conſent to a ranſom, by bidding out an auction againſt each other and againſt themſelves, until the King and parliament ſhall ſtrike down the hammer, and ſay "enough."

The ſpecies of auction to be terminated not at the diſcretion of the bidder, but at the will of the ſovereign power, was a kind of abſurd tyranny, which they challenged the miniſters to produce any example of, in the practiſe of this or of any other nation. What was ſaid to be moſt like this method of ſetting the colony aſſemblies at gueſſing what contribution might be moſt agreeable to us in ſome future time, was the tyranny of Nebuchadnezzar, who, having forgot a dream of his, ordered the aſſembles of his wiſe men, on pain of death, not only to interpret his dream, but to tell him what his dream was.

To ſet the impracticability and abſurdity of this ſcheme in the ſtronger light, they aſked, in caſe an aſſembly made an offer which ſhould not be thought ſufficient by parliament, was not the buſineſs to walk back again to America, and ſo on backwards and forwards as often as the offer diſpleaſed parliament? And thus, inſtead of obtaining peace by this propoſition, all our diſtractions and confuſions will be increaſed tenfold, and continued for ever.

It was ſaid, indeed, by the miniſter, that this ſcheme will diſunite the colonies. Tricks in government had ſometimes, it was admitted, been ſucceſsful; but never when they were known, avowed, and hacknied. That the Boſton port bill was a declared cheat, and accordingly far from ſucceeding; it was the very firſt thing that united all the colonies againſt us, from Nova-Scotia to Georgia.

As to the pretended juſtice of this extorted contribution, from the debt incurred on the ſole account of America, Col. Barre ſaid, it was falſe and futile. We muſt defend our dominions, wherever they are attacked by our enemies; but to charge the part attacked as the cauſe of the burthen brought on by that defence, is ridiculous. It was not the ambition of the colonies, but the deſigns of France aiming at an empire in America, which cauſed that debt.

The idea of deducting the value of goods ſuppoſed to be taken by the coloniſts, becauſe we ſold cheap, at a time when we did not ſuffer the colonies to make the trial, and by ſuch arithmetic to deduce the propriety of their paying in nearly an equal proportion with the people of England (they ſaid) was of a piece with the reſt of the policy and the argument of this profound project.

Mr. Burke ſtrongly declared againſt any ſcheme which began by any mode of extorting revenue. That every benefit, natural or political, muſt be had in the order of things, and in its proper ſeaſon. Revenue from a free people muſt be the conſequence of peace, not the condition on which it is to be obtained. That if we attempt to inſert this in order, we ſhall have neither peace nor revenue. If we are reſolved to eat our grapes crude and ſour, inſtead of obtaining nouriſhment, we ſhall only ſet an edge on our own teeth, and thoſe of our poſterity for ever.

They all urged, therefore, for the reconſideratron, until it could be brought to ſome agreement with common ſenſe. They moved, "that the chairman do now leave the chair, and have leave to ſit again."

The miniſter, diſtracted by an oppoſition from ſuch oppoſite quarters, ſeemed ready to ſink under it. His allies ſeemed on the point of deſertion, until the great BUTE STANDARD was diſplayed by Sir Gilbert Elliot, when moſt of them fell again into order, and, though aſhamed and mortified, voted with the miniſter.

The inſtantaneous effect of the few words ſpoken by the STANDARD BEARER, after Lord North had been five times on his legs, and only made matters worſe and worſe, was painted by Mr. Dunning in a vein of the moſt delicate irony. The numbers, upon the diviſion, were: Ayes 274, Noes 88.

WILLIAMSBURG, APRIL 29.

This morning arrived an expreſs from the Northward, with the following advices

NEW-ENGLAND.

Watertown, Wedneſday morning, near 10 of the clock.

TO all friends of American liberty, be it known, that this morning, before break of day, a brigade conſiſting of about 1000 or 12000 men landed at Phipp's farm, at Cambridge, and marched to Lexington, where they found a company of our colony militia in arms, upon whom they fired without any provocation, and killed ſix men, and wounded four others. The bearer, Trail Briſſel, is charged to alarm the country quite to Connecticut; and all perſons are deſired to furniſh him with freſh horſes, as they may be needed. I have ſpoken with ſeveral, who have ſeen the dead and wounded. Pray let the

mitee of correſpondence
Attested and forwarded by
Norwich, New-London, Lynie,
E. Guilford, Guilford, Brandford, and
FAIRFIELD, Saturday A
Since the above written we have rec
by a ſecond expreſs.
Thurſday, three o'clock afternoon.
SIR,
I am this moment informed by an expreſs
ſtock, taken from the mouth of the expre
o'clock, afternoon, that the conteſt betwee
gade that marched to Concord, was ſtill co
morning at the town of Lexington, to which
had retreated, that another brigade, ſaid to be
mentioned in the letter of this morning, landed w
quantity of artillery, at the place where the firſt
The provincials were determined to prevent the tw
gades from joining their ſtength if poſſible, and re
in great need of ſuccour.
N. B. The regulars when in Concord, burnt
court-houſe, took two pieces of cannon, which they
dered uſeleſs, and began to take up Concord bridge
which Capt.——— (who with many on both ſides
ſoon killed) made an attack upon the King's troop
which they retreated to Lexington.
To Col. Ob. Johnſon, I am,
Canterbury. EB. WILLIA
P. S. Mr. M'Farlan of Plainfield, merchant,
returned from Boſton by way of Providence, who
verſed with an expreſs from Lexington, who farthe
forms, that 4000 of our troops had ſurrounded the
brigade above-mentioned, who were on a hill in Le
ton, that the action continued, and there were
50 of our men killed, and 150 of the regulars as n
they could determine, when the expreſs came away.
be expedient for every man to go who is fit and
The above is a true copy as received per expreſ
New-Haven, and atteſted to by the committee of
pondence, from town to town. Atteſt.
Jonathan Sturgis, Andrew Rowland } Comm
Thadius Burr, Job Bartram, }
The above was received yeſterday at four o'clock, by
committee of New-York, and forwarded to Philadelphia,
by Iſaac Low, chairman of the committee at New-York.

NORFOLK, MAY 4, 1775.

Extract from a paper received by the Cæſar, Wood, in ſix weeks from BRISTOL. LONDON, March 11.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, March 9.

THIS day the expectations of all men, both within doors and without, were wound up to the higheſt pitch, it being whiſpered for ſome days paſt, by thoſe who pretend to be in the ſecret, that the miniſter intended to propoſe a bill that would at one chatm his friends, confound his enemies, and pleaſe the people on both ſides of the Atlantic. After the benches had been all crowded, a ſilence of ſome minutes enſued, and up roſe the Miniſter, not to open his grand conciliatory plan, but to extend the powers of his New-England reſtraining bill to all the other principal provinces on the American continent. He ſaid, that as the colonies were come to an agreement to carry on no trade whatever with Great-Britain, Ireland, or the Weſt-Indies, he was clearly of opinion that it became indiſpenſably neceſſary to reſtrain their commerce, and prevent them from trading with any other country. He therefore made the following motion: — That the Chairman be directed to move the Houſe, that leave be given to bring in a bill to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New-Jerſey Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South-Carolina, to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Britiſh iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, under certain conditions and limitations. ——— After a ſhort debate, the bill was ordered in.

By a Gentleman arrived from Salem on Sunday laſt, we have a confirmation of the melancholy tidings relative to an engagement between the regulars and provincials near Boſton: From the accounts given by this gentleman, there is great reaſon to believe, that unleſs the regulars had found means to reach Boſton the day after the ſkirmiſh began, the moſt of them are cut off. The report at Salem was, that the object of their hazardous expedition from Boſton, was to ſeize the perſons of Meſſieurs Hancock and Adams. We wait with impatience for the particulars of this very intereſting event.

His Excellency the Governor, we hear, with his family have retired on board his Majeſty's ſhip the Fowey, now lying at York, in conſequence of the diſturbances occaſioned by the removal of the powder from the public magazine at Williamſburg.

Various reports have beeen ſpread of an intention to ſeize the guns and field pieces lying at different places upon the rivers in this colony, in conſequence of which we hear, that in ſome counties they have removed them into the country, out of the reach of the armed veſſels ſtationed among us; and in others, guards are eſtabliſhed to watch againſt any attempt to carry them off.

It is with pleaſure we can inform the public of the zeal the militia of this borough diſcover to perfect themſelves in the military exerciſe, and that they ſeem heartily diſpoſed to prepare themſelves for every emergency upon which their country may call them.

NORFOLK, May 1, 1775.

FOR LIVERPOOL.

THE ſhip Greenwood, Mackey Reed maſter, will ſail in a fortnight, can take in (beſides what is engag'd) about 120 hogſheads or 600 barrels, on liberty of conſignment; ſhe has alſo excellent accommodations for paſſengers.—— For terms apply to
GREENWOOD, RITSON, & MARSH.

THE partnerſhip of HARMANSON and HARVEY being diſſolved, all perſons indebted to ſaid partnerſhip are requeſted to be ſpeedy in payment, and thoſe that have any accounts againſt the partnerſhip are deſired to bring them in to
WILLIAM HARVEY.
Who has for ſale, Jamaica Spirits, Madeira Wine of the New-York Quality, Coffee, Chocolate, Bar Iron, and Wheat Fans, alſo, a pair of Lead Pumps for a Veſſel.

ddre[ss] [to] [his] MAJESTY, to declare
[the] [re]ce o[f] [the] MASSACHUSETTS-BAY

[SIR],

[The] [add]ress now before the House, re-
[spe]cting America, is of as great import-
[ance] as ever debated in Parliament. It
[is] almost every question of policy
[in] [it]. I do not mean to enter so vast,
[so] [bro]aden a field. I will confine myself
[to] [the] business before us.—The Address now
[qu]oted from the Committee of the whole
[Ho]use, appears to me unfounded, rash and
[ex]traordinary, and most unjustly to draw the
[sw]ord against America; but before administra-
[tion] be suffered to plunge this nation into the
[mi]series of a civil war, before they are permit-
[ted] to force Englishmen to sheath their swords
[in] the bowels of their fellow-subjects, I hope
[the] House will seriously weigh the original
[ground] and cause of this unhappy dispute, and
[re]flect, whether justice is on our side.
[The] assumed right of Taxation without the
[con]sent of the subject, is plainly the primary
[cause] of the present quarrel. Have we, Sir,
[a] right to tax the Americans?—That is
[the] question. The fundamental laws of human
[nature] and the principle of the English consti-
[tution] are equally repugnant to the claim. The
[idea] of property excludes the right of others
[to] any thing from me without my consent,
[otherwise] I cannot call it my own.—What pro-
[perty] have I in what another person can seize
[at] his pleasure? If we can tax the Americans
without their consent; they have no property,
nothing which they can call their own, we might
take their all. The words "LIBERTY and
PROPERTY," so dear to an Englishman, so
pleasing in our ears, would become mockery and
insult to an American. The laws of society are
professedly calculated to secure the property of
each individual, of every subject of the state.
The great principles of the constitution under
which we live, likewise clearly determines this
point. All subsidies to the Crown are grants
from the Commons, free gifts of the people.
Their full consent is always expressed in the
grant. Much has been said of the Palatine of
Chester, and the Principality of Wales, and the
period of their taxation; but, Sir, there is a
more remarkable case in point, which alone
would determine the question. If any gentle-
man will search the records in the tower, they
will find that the town of Calais in France,
when it belonged to the Imperial Crown of
these realms, was not taxed till it sent Repre-
sentatives to Parliament. Two Burgesses from
Calais actually sat and voted in this House.
Then, and not till then, was Calais taxed. The
writ of Chancery, and the return to it, in the
Reign of Edward VI. with the names of the
Burgesses, are still extant. I faithfully give
them to the public for attested copies.

But, Sir, it will be said, is America then to enjoy the protection of Great-Britain, and to contribute nothing towards the support of that very state, which has so long given it protection and security, which has nursed it up to its present greatness?—The Americans themselves have given the fullest answer to this objection in a manner not to be controverted, by their conduct through a series of years, and by the most explicit declarations. Equally in words and actions, of the most unequivocal nature, they have demonstrated their love, their ardor, their strong filial piety towards the mother country. They have always appeared ready, not only to contribute towards the expence of their own government, but likewise to the wants and necessities of this state, although perhaps they may not be over fond of all the proud, expensive trappings of royalty. In the two last wars they far exceeded the cold line of prudence. With the most liberal hearts they gave you almost their all, and they fought gallantly by your side with equal valour against your and their enemy, against the common enemy of mankind, the ambitious and faithless French whom we now fear and flatter. Our journals, Sir, will bear witness to the grateful sense we had of the important services of Americans, and the great [we] voted to be repaid them, for what they [ex]pended in the spirited expeditions which they carried through with equal courage and conduct, sometimes without the least knowledge or participation on our part, will demonstrate the warm affection of their hearts to this country. But, Sir, the whole was the gift of freemen, of fellow-subjects, who feel that they are, and know that they have a right to be, as free as ourselves. What is their language now, when you are planning their destruction, when you are declaring them rebels? In the late petition of the General Congress to the King, they declare, "they are ready and willing, as they ever have been, when constitutionally required, to demonstrate their loyalty to his Majesty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces." This is the unanimous resolution of a Congress composed of deputies from the several colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas. I have heard, Sir, of a plan of accommodation, which I believe would reconcile all differences. But, alas! Sir, it did not come from any servant of the Crown. It comes from a noble Lord to whom this country has the most essential obligation, and is so much indebted for its late splendor and glory. It is to assemble another Congress in the spring, under the authority of the Parliament of Great-Britain; the Deputies of the several colonies to meet together, and to be jointly empowered to regulate the various quotas to be paid by each province to the general treasury of the whole empire.

I would, in addition to that plan, propose, that a regulation similar to what actually takes place with respect to Scotland, be adopted as to America. The proportion of each Colony might be settled according to the Land Tax in England, at one, two, or more shillings in the pound. I am not deep politician enough to know what the proportions should be of each province, and they will vary greatly in half a century; but I speak of their quota being always to be regulated according to the Land Tax of this country. The very flourishing Colonies of the Massachusett's-Bay, Virginia, and South-Carolina, for instance, should contribute more; the smaller and poorer Colonies of New-Hampshire and New-Jersey less: but, Sir, I insist not a single shilling can be taken without their consent; and after this day's debate, should the address be carried, I greatly fear every idea of a reconciliation will be utterly impracticable.

The Americans, Sir, have of late both within doors and without, been treated with the greatest injustice, and even a wanton degree of cruelty. An Honourable Gentleman has just told us, that they complain of the NAVIGATION ACT, and insist on its repeal. We have authentic evidence to the contrary. In the resolutions of the Congress, they repeatedly desire to be put only on the footing they were, AT THE CLOSE OF THE LATE WAR, "as to the system of statutes and regulations;" nor among the various acts, of which they desire the repeal, do they once mention either the NAVIGATION or the DECLARATORY ACT. It is said likewise they wish to throw off the supremacy of this country. Many express resolutions, both of the General Congress, aud the Provincial Congresses, are the fullest evidence of the sense which the Americans entertain of their obedience and duty to this country. They are too numerous to be quoted. Their full claim, as stated by themselves, is so well worded, I beg to read it to the House from their petition to the King. "WE ASK BUT "FOR PEACE, LIBERTY, AND SAFETY."—Sure, Sir, no request was ever more reasonable, no claim better founded. "We wish not a dimi-"nution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit "a grant of any new right in our favour.— "Your royal authority over us, and our con-"nection with Great-Britain, we shall always "carefully and zealously endeavour to support "and maintain; whilst administration are en-"deavouring to tear asunder those ties, which "have so long and happily bound us to-"gether."

The Address, Sir, mentions the particular province of Massachusett's-Bay, as in a state of actual rebellion, and the other provinces are considered as aiding and abetting them. Much has been said by some learned Gentlemen to involve them in all the consequences of a declared rebellion, and to encourage our officers and troops to act against them as against rebels.—Whether the present state is that of rebellion, or of a fit and proper resistance to unlawful acts of power, to our attempts to rob them of their property and liberties, as they imagine, I do not determine. This I know, a successful resistance is a REVOLUTION, not a REBELLION. Who can tell, Sir, whether in consequence of this very day's violent and mad Address to his Majesty, the scabbard may not be thrown away by them, as well as by us, and should success attend them, whether in a few years, the Americans may not celebrate the glorious æra of 1775, as we do that of 1688? Success crowned the generous efforts of our forefathers for freedom, else they had died on the scaffold as traitors and rebels; and the period of our history, which does us the most honor, would have been deemed a REBELLION against lawful authority, not a resistance authorised by all the laws of God and man, not the expulsion of a tyrant.

The policy, Sir, of this measure, I can no more comprehend, than I can acknowledge the justice of it. Is your force adequate to the attempt? I am satisfied it is not. What are your armies and how are they to be recruited? Do you recollect that the single province of the Massachusett's-Bay, has at this moment above 30,000 men well trained and disciplined, and can bring near 90,000 men into the field? They will do it when they are fighting for their liberties. You will not be able to conquer and keep even that single province. The Noble Lord proposes only 10,000 of our troops to be there, including the four regiments now going from Ireland, and he acknowledges very truly, that the army cannot enforce the late acts of Parliament. Why then is it sent? Boston indeed you may lay in ashes, or it may be made a strong garrison, but the province will be lost to you. Boston will be like Gibraltar. You will hold in the province of Massachusett's-Bay, as you do in Spain, a single town, the whole country in the power and possession of the enemy. Your fleets and armies may keep a few towns on the coast, for sometime at least, Boston, New-York, St. Augustine. The vast continent of America will be lost to you. A few fortresses on the coast and some sea-ports only you will keep, all the back settlements will be independent of you, and will thrive in the rapid progression of your violences and your unjust exactions on the towns. The ancient stories of the Carthagenian hide will be verified as to you. Where you tread, it will be kept down, but it will rise the more in all the other parts. Where your fleets and armies are stationed, the possession will be yours, but all the rest will be lost. I fear from this day, in the general tale of empire, you will decline, and the Americans will rise to independence, to power, to all the greatness of the most renowned states, for they build on the solid basis of public Liberty.

Sir, this Address is founded in injustice and cruelty. It is equally contrary to the sound maxims of true policy, and to the unerring rule of natural right. The Americans will defend their property and their liberties with the spirit of freeemen, with the spirit I hope we should. They will sooner declare themselves independent, and risk every consequence of such a contest, than submit to the yoke which Administration is preparing for them. An address of so sanguinary a nature cannot fail of driving them to despair. They will see that you are preparing, not only to draw the sword, but to burn the scabbard. You are declaring them rebels. Every idea of a reconciliation will vanish. They will pursue the most vigorous measures in their own defence. The whole Continent will be dismembered from Great-Britain, and THE WIDE ARCH OF THE RAISED EMPIRE FALL. But I hope the just vengeance of the people will overtake the author of these pernicious counsels, and the loss of the first province to the empire, be speedily followed by the loss of the heads of those Ministers, who advised these wicked and fatal measures.

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